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CONTENTS:

ABORIGINALS IN THE BRISBANE AREA

by

F.S. Colliver & F.P. Woolston

This article first appeared in:

BRISBANT RETROSPECT

Eight Aspects of Brisbane
History

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Archaeology Branch,
Dept. Aboriginal &
Islanders Advancement,
P.O. Box 569,
FORTITUDE VALLEY. 4006
PH. 224 5715 224 5716

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NOTES ON AUTHORS

F.S. Colliver began his association with Queensland as keeper of the collection for the University of Queensland, Geology Department.

Ever at the beginning of things, he was one of the foundation members of the Anthropological Society of Victoria prior to coming to Queensland. This was followed with his becoming a foundation member of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, and the Anthropological Society of Queensland. He is also a member of the Prehistoric Society and on his retirement he became an associate member of the Queensland Museum. He is also a member of the Honorary Warden Service with the Archaeology Branch.

Stan has had many papers published in the Queensland Heritage and Queensland Naturalist. He is now actively involved in all research aspects on the Anthropology and Archaeology in Queensland.

Archaeology Branch,
Department of Aboriginal and Islanders Advancement,
P.O. Box 569, Fortitude Valley, Q. 4006. Phone 224 5715.
Ranger Headquarters: Mt. Isa - P.O. Box 309, Mt. Isa.
Cairns - 6 Abbott Street, Cairns.
Rockhampton - 35 William Street, Rockhampton.
Injune - Coronation Street, Injune.
Laura - C/- Post Office, Laura.

F.P. Woolston is a member of the Anthropological Society of Queensland and an associate member of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, and has published articles on Anthropology in several publications.

Whilst working in the North Queensland Rainforest area long and valued association with the Aboriginal people was established by Frank.

He is also actively recording and documenting ethno-history related to North Queensland and has done considerable work in association with people such as Percy Trezise and Dick Roughsey in and around Mornington Island.

MESSAGE STICKS

Often elaborately carved and coloured black, red, yellow or simply rubbed with oil until it shone, the 'message stick' was widely used throughout Australia.

It acted as a guarantee of good faith when used to establish barter arrangements; as a 'passport' when passing through hostile territory to deliver messages to far away kin.

The message was always delivered by word of mouth whilst the carving or decoration on the stick identified the sender.

The actual size, colour and design was selected by the individual wishing to send the message.

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ABORIGINALS IN THE BRISBANE AREA

by

F.S. Colliver and F.P. Woolston

SCOPE:

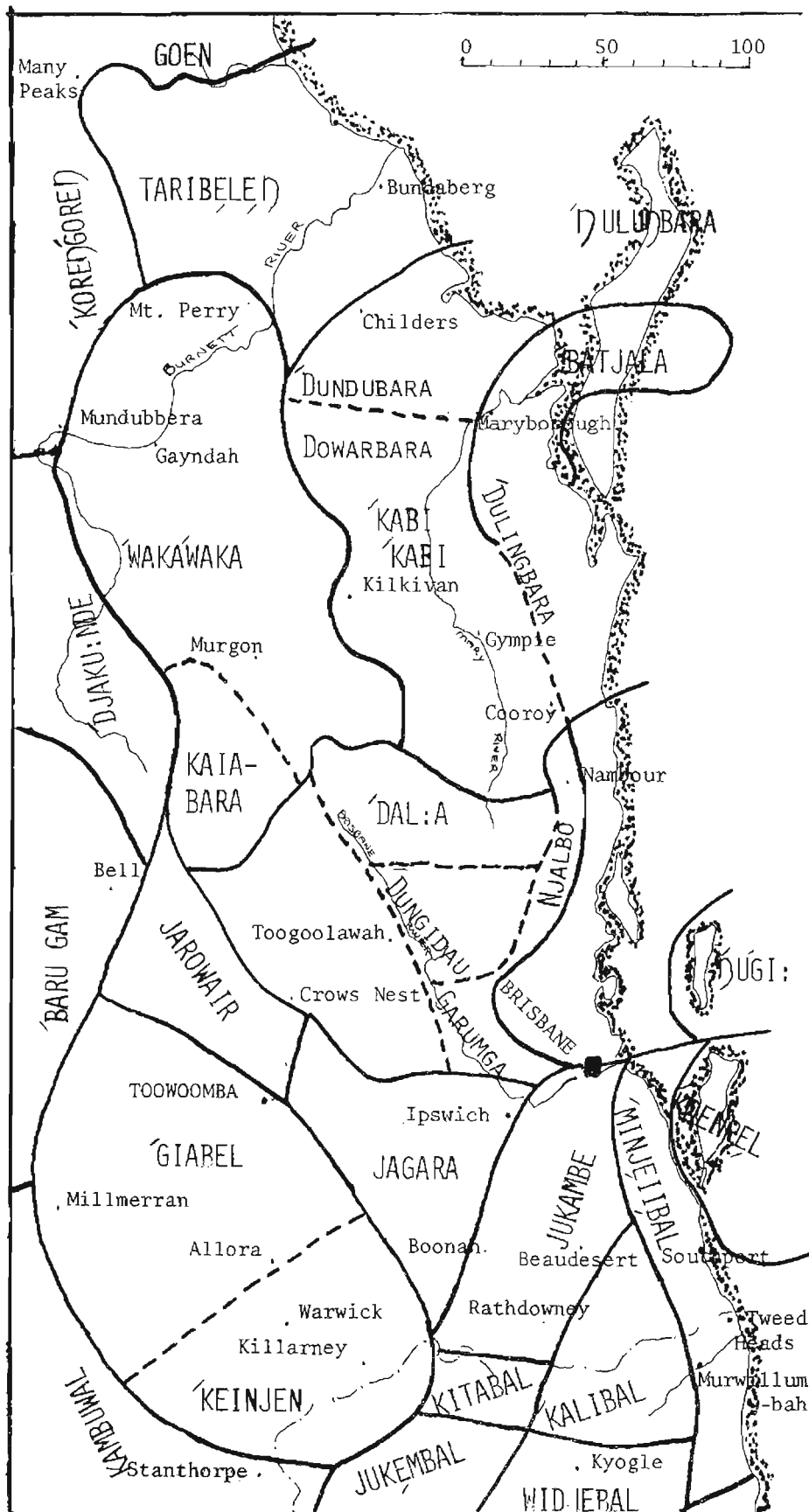
The area covered in this paper may be defined as the mouth of the Brisbane River to the South Pine (Brighton) west to Cash's Crossing, then skirting the Enoggera and Taylor Ranges (but including Mount Coot-tha, thence to Indooroopilly at the Brisbane River). The period covered is from the first white contact until the early 1900's. (Fig. 1).

EARLY SOURCES

It is fortunate that early records relating to the Aborigines at Moreton Bay survive. One of the earliest is provided by Thomas Pamphlet who lived amongst the natives there for seven months.¹ The choice of the site of Brisbane for the permanent establishment of the penal settlement was influenced, in part, by the absence of Aborigines. At Redcliffe there had been constant problems with the theft of tools and animals; Brisbane, however, was situated on a pocket away from the natives' highway. In 1840 Lieutenant Owen Gorman², the commandant of the penal settlement, reported the excellent relations existing with the Aborigines 'for forty miles around'.³

Another early source of information is the *Statement* made in 1841 by Christopher Eipper, a clergyman at the German Mission to the Aborigines at Moreton Bay⁴, established in 1838. Eipper was of the opinion that Moreton Bay was well adapted for missionary purposes as its situation was 'peculiarly adapted for missionary exertions, as it lies at the great thoroughfare of the Aborigines, when proceeding either from the north or south along the seacoast, as well as those coming from the interior'.⁵ The total numbers were difficult to ascertain; Eipper was cognizant of there being individual 'tribes'⁶ each having its own area and comprising from fifty to sixty people. He also records that upwards of 300 were present at fights. It was stated that there were different 'tribes' on the right and left banks of the river and that distinctions existed between them - those on the left bank being differentiated by 'the direction of the incisions which they make on their breasts and arms'.⁷ Eipper described the fishing 'tribes' as having 'a fleshy protuberance on the wrist' which distinguished them from other 'tribes'.⁸

The Aborigines tended to camp near the mission station. Though scattered, their camps did show some group distinction. The huts were constructed by placing three sticks in the ground in the form of a triangle and then covering this frame with tea-tree bark. The floor was also covered with bark. The huts were three to four feet in width (0.9 to 1.2m) and six feet (1.8m) in diameter. The size and shape of the hut necessitated the family sleeping curled up; skins, and sometimes blankets, served as covering. A fire at the entrance was kept up for warmth, light, and cooking. Spears, shields, nets, water utensils, and dilly-bags were generally placed in, or hung upon, trees close by, nullas and boomerangs being kept inside, and a stone or steel knife was carried in a belt or small dilly under the arm. Upon breaking camp, the women took a quantity of the bark with them in case none was to be found at the new campsite.

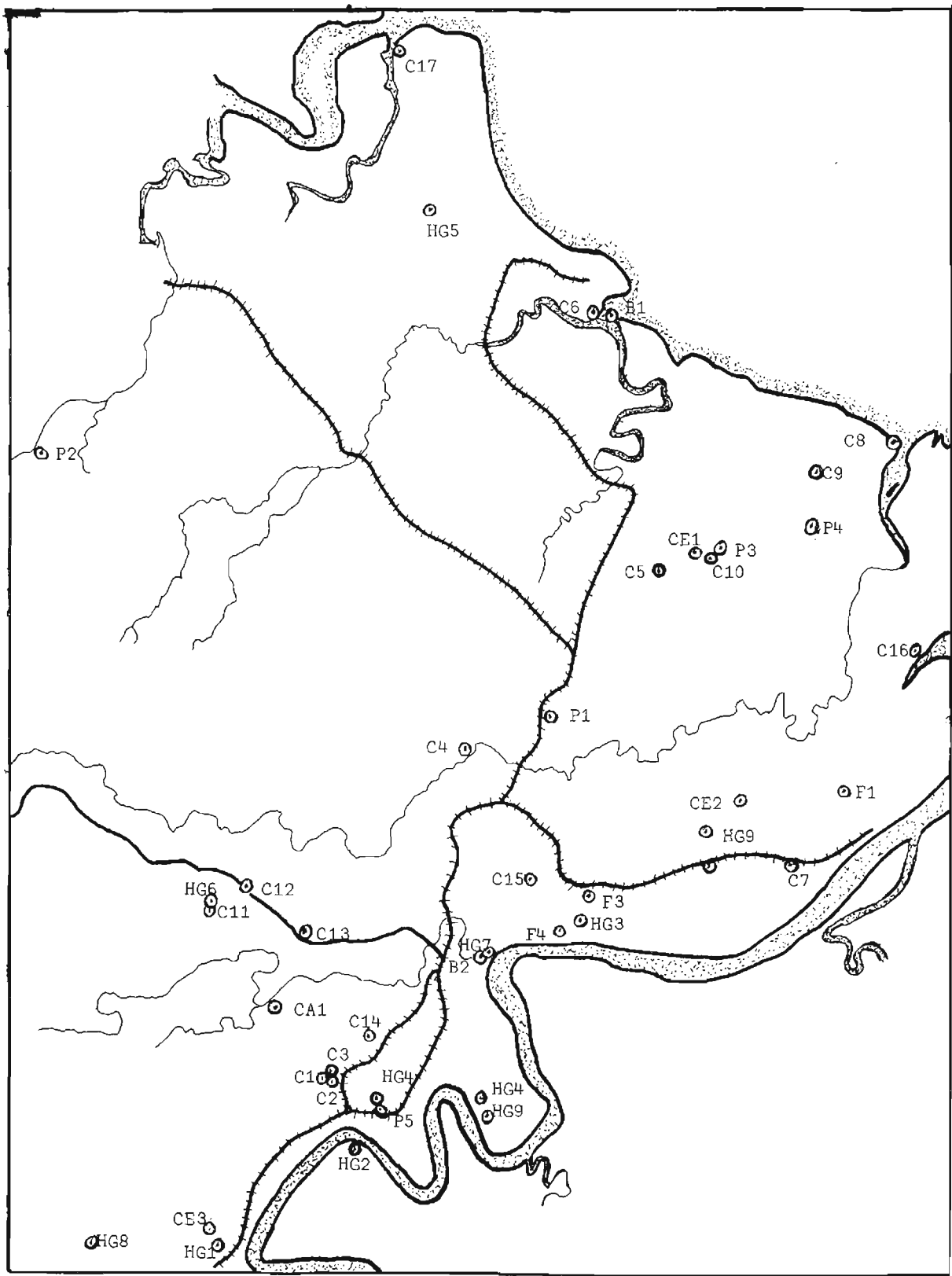


Eipper observed that most things in the animal and vegetable kingdom were eaten; meat was barely cooked and 'when hungry they will not disdain even raw flesh, and you may see them occasionally tearing asunder a small snake with their teeth, which a few minutes (*sic*) before had crossed their path'.⁹ In the vegetable kingdom two items only were apparently their chief foods - *bangwall* and *imboon* - described by Eipper as 'plants (which) somewhat resemble the fern tree, but the imboon is more farinaceous than the bangwall'.¹⁰ Once gardens were developed at the mission, the Aborigines appeared to take less interest in their native foods and garden raids took place, resulting in clashes with the missionaries. One such collision occurred on 21 March 1840 when the missionaries opened fire upon some Aborigines whom they suspected of intending to steal potatoes from the gardens. Lieutenant Gorman, Assistant Surgeon Keith Ballow, and Acting Chief Constable William Whyte went to the natives' camp after the incident because four Aborigines had been wounded. In his report to the Colonial Secretary, the commandant expressed his regret 'that the Missionaries fired upon the Blacks as we are on Excellent terms with them for forty miles around'.¹¹ Eipper gave an account of the preparations for a fight, a description of which is provided in later sources, for example, *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences* (1904).¹²

'The women of the aborigines are in a state of the most deplorable slavery' said Eipper.¹³ He went on to describe their being stolen, of elopements and the consequent penalties for both parties, and a type of courtship that took place at times. It was noted that through association with the settlement, venereal disease and prostitution had become part of their way of life.¹⁴ The missionaries traded food for labour and purchased from the Aborigines, fish, honey, twine, and birds.

A short vocabulary and some illustrative sentences were provided in Eipper's *Statement*; the words given are confirmed when compared with the Yugarabul vocabulary of Watson (1944).¹⁵ In a preamble to the word list, Eipper stated 'the intellectual faculties of the Aborigines are by no means to be despised. Their enterprise and cunning often call for admiration; but their language, as may be expected, is very meagre, as their ideas go no farther than their wants or employments'.¹⁶ There would now be disagreement with his view on the meagreness of language. William Ridley, in 1875, wrote of the grammatical structure that 'the inflections of verbs and nouns, the derivation and composition of words, the arrangement of sentences, and the methods of imparting emphasis, indicate an accuracy of thought, and a force of expression, surpassing all that is commonly supposed to be attainable by a savage race'.¹⁷

The first vocabularies resulted from contacts made with the Aborigines at Sydney and Botany Bay. It is known that some words, at least, travelled north becoming, eventually, part of the language of the white people and the Aborigines, even up to Moreton Bay. Archibald Meston pointed out that the words boomerang, wombat, wommera, yarraman, wonga-wonga, gunya, waddy, woolaba (wallaby), wallaroo, heelamin, budgerie, corobberie, (corroboree), baal, and currajong came from Botany Bay.¹⁸ Eipper recorded in his list *waddy* and also *womeram* (apparently a fighting boomerang).¹⁹ The word 'wommera' and the implement itself were not in use at Moreton Bay, therefore, it may be concluded that *womeram* is a corrupted Botany Bay word. The word for 'boomerang' at Brisbane was given by Watson as *braggan*.²⁰



BURIALS

B1 Dinah's Island (Ground Burial)
B2 Mouth of Breakfast Creek (Hollow Tree Burial)
B3 Eagle Farm (Bark Bundle Burial)

CAMPS

C1 Green Hills (Post Bora Camp)
C2 Petrie Terrace Barracks site (Post Bora Camp)
C3 Normanby area (Post Bora Camp)
C4 Kedron Brook, Kalinga
C5 Nudgee
C6 Sandgate Golf Club site
C7 Railway Station, Meandah
C8 Mouth of Serpentine Creek area
C9 Near the Rafting Yards, Serpentine Creek
C10 Brisbane side of Nudgee Golf Course
C11 Sedgley Park, Enoggera
C12 Alderley Railway Station area
C13 Newmarket
C14 Victoria Park
C15 Oriel Road Water Hole, Clayfield
C16 Boggy Creek, Myrtletown (Easter Camp)
C17 Bald Hills Creek (Mosquito Creek)

CANNIBALISM

Ca1 Enoggera Crossing (i.e. Bancroft Park)

CEREMONIAL

Ce1 Nudgee Bora Ground and Waterhole
Ce2 Eagle Farm Runways
Ce3 Toowong

FIGHTS

F1 Pinkenba (*dumben*)
F2 York's Hollow
F3 Hamilton - Eagle Farm area
F4 Hamilton Road - Toorak Road corner (Big Battle)

HUNTING AND GATHERING FOOD

HG1 Toowong Scrub
HG2 West End
HG3 Hamilton Scrub
HG4 Bowen Hills - Spring Hill - New Farm
HG5 Bungwal Swamp, Sandgate
HG6 Sedgley Park (Bunya Trees)
HG7 Mouth of Breakfast Creek (Cobra Logs)
HG8 Mount Coot-tha (*ku-ta*) - Toowong area (Honey Gathering)
HG9 Eagle Farm - New Farm

PROPERTIES - ERECTED BUILDINGS

P1 German Mission, Nundah (Zion's Hill)
P2 Mr. Cashe's Property at Pine River
P3 Harris Vineyard, Nudgee Road
P4 R. Harris, Blacksmith
P5 Windmill Hill (Execution Site)

John Williams Zillman, a son of Leopold Zillman, one of the original German missionaries, said that 'from Stoney Creek (near Caboolture) to Nundah there was no human habitation except Cash's, quite off the road on the old north road over South Pine River'.²¹ Zillman reported that 'Cash also had trouble with the blacks. He had large auger holes bored through the slabs so as to put the muzzle of the gun through and thus keep the blacks away. They, the blacks, then tied firesticks to their spears and tried throwing the spears into the bark roof of the house. But he kept them away, and they did not gain their object of burning him out'.²²

Aboriginals who lived about the Nudgee waterholes were employed at the Harris' vineyard; this confirmed Eipper's statement that work done by the men was paid in food only after the completion of their labour, as had they eaten, they would have disappeared.²³ Some of the women were employed in the house, but they had to be supervised constantly. One family story reported that Aboriginal women could never wash a floor so as to finish at the doorway, rather they finished in the middle of the room with their buckets and brushes around them. Sometimes, if these unmarried women became pregnant, they would go away and return later without the baby; often the woman's clothes were found in a tree. The Harris' were convinced that the babies were abandoned in the bush. When these women were asked to stay, as there was plenty of food for them, they would say they wanted 'that possum food'. It was noted that girls had the top joint of the little finger removed at marriage. Richard Harris, who had a blacksmith's shop on Nudgee Road, was asked by 'King' Sandy and another Aboriginal to put horseshoe nails into their nullas so they could fight. After fixing the nails, he became worried about the consequences of his actions and talked the men out of their fight. Afterwards, they were grateful to him and said he had saved their lives.²⁴ It has been also reported that when Aboriginals swam the shark-infested Serpentine Creek, they first draped long strings of beach vine (*Impomaea* sp.) around their shoulders so that any shark would attack the trailing vine and not themselves.²⁵

In 1877 Carl Lentz arrived at Moreton Bay as a boy of eight. He recalled in his *Memoirs* how mounted troopers used to ride about after 4 p.m. cracking stockwhips as a signal for the Aboriginals to leave town.²⁶ It is known that one of the town boundaries for this purpose was the Enoggera Creek Crossing at what is now Bancroft Park, Kelvin Grove. Charles Slaughter, the first postmaster at Sandgate, was born in Brisbane in 1855. He recalled that as a boy, he and his brother, after fishing in the Pine River, had a problem with their boat and beached it on a sandbank near Mosquito Creek (now identified as Bald Hills Creek). They were surrounded by a group of 'notorious' Aboriginals who took them to their camp, gave them a kangaroo skin to sit on, and showed them to a bark hut. Then with a yell for a signal the men danced round the boys, their dance accompanied by chanting from the women. The children could see dozens of men in the glow of a big fire, but all of a sudden the dancing stopped and several rushed to the river. They soon returned with a large flathead which they had speared. This was cooked and fed to the boys on pieces of tea-tree bark. The Aboriginals escorted the boys home to their anxious parents.²⁷

TRIBAL BOUNDARIES:

The Aboriginals of the Brisbane area did not constitute one 'tribe'. Norman Tindale, in his *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia* (1974), listed the people of this area as the Jagara 'tribe', occupying the area of the 'Brisbane River from the Cleveland district inland to the Dividing Range about Gatton; north to near Esk; at Ipswich'.²⁸ The overall area was some 3,400 square kilometres and the language spoken was Turubul. Tindale also lists the Undanbi 'tribe' occupying part of the Brisbane area, from the 'coastal strip along Coolumb Beach, and Moreton Bay from Noosa Heads south to the mouth of the Brisbane River; in the Pine River district; inland only for about 10 miles (16km); at the Glasshouse Mountains; on Bribie Island'.²⁹ These people also shared the Turubul language with the Jagara of the Lower Brisbane area. Meston referred to a North Brisbane 'tribe' called Bo-obbera speaking a dialect

called Churrabool³⁰ and a tribe on the south bank of the river, as the Coorpooroo-jagin speaking a dialect called Yuggara.³¹ He commented that only three or four Aboriginals from the South Brisbane 'tribe' survived in 1895 and that the North Brisbane 'tribe', once numbering 300, was extinct by 1860.³² This latter statement has been contradicted by Richard Westaway, who indicated that some of the original North Brisbane Aboriginals were still living at Mooloolaba in 1883.³³

Tom Petrie stated that 'the Turrbal or Brisbane tribe owned the country as far north as North Pine, south to the Logan, and inland to Moggill Creek. This tribe all spoke the same language, but of course was divided up into different lots, who belonged some to North Pine, some to Brisbane, and so on. These lots had their own little boundaries'.³⁴ Meston said that a 'tribe' called Boondoorburra lived at what is now Enoggera, while the people of Brisbane itself were called Boorpooban-burra; he listed the Bo-obbera as extending to Caboolture.³⁵ Meston further stated that 'the original Brisbane tribe spoke Wacca, occupied mainly the territory bounded by the Enoggera Range, the Brisbane River, the South Pine, and the coast from the mouth of the Brisbane to Sandgate'.³⁶ The population around 1842 was about 250, but they were extinct by 1861.³⁷ Tom Petrie concluded the tribe would have originally comprised about 200 and that five were still alive in 1904.

As has already been stated, the area covered in this paper has been defined as that from the mouth of the Brisbane River to the South Pine (Brighton) west to Cash's Crossing, then skirting the Enoggera and Taylor Ranges (but including Mount Coot-tha), thence to Indooroopilly at the Brisbane River, and the period covered is from the first white contact until the early 1900's. It is known that Aboriginals speaking the Turubul language visited, or lived in, the Brisbane area beyond the turn of the century. Meston stated that 'the last surviving Brisbane district blacks included old "King Sandy" whose native name was "GAIRBALLIE", "Old Sam" whose name was "Pootingga", "Billy the Tracker", "WAMGOOL", and "One Eyed Jack", "YERRIMBAMM", and old "King Fred".³⁸ Petrie said 'King' Sandy died at Wynnum in 1900.³⁹

LANGUAGE:

The Turubul language⁴⁰, therefore, included the Churrabool and Yuggara dialects. The Undanbi shared a language named Turubul with the Jagara, the tribe whose language was called Dippil by Ridley.⁴¹ Tindale pointed out that some of the early confusion relating to south-eastern Queensland 'tribes' was engendered by the multiplicity of general terms.⁴² Thus 'Dippil' was applied to several 'tribes'; Matthews, seeking supratribal groupings, referred to the 'Dippil Nation'.⁴³ Within this, was cited the Brisbane 'horde'⁴⁴ of the Undabi, which he called 'Turubul', 'to demonstrate the marriage system present among them'.⁴⁵ Tindale, however, concluded that 'as in other areas the "nation" concept is untenable except as satisfying a classificatory demand by those unwilling to accept the idea of nonnational units'.⁴⁶ Meston noted that the last man speaking the Wacca dialect of Brisbane was 'Old' Sam (Pootingga) who belonged to the Bo-obbera 'tribe' of Caboolture.⁴⁷ 'Wacca' was given as the negative word (i.e. 'no') in the Turubul language⁴⁸; frequently, but not always, this equivalent word is used to 'name' dialects.⁴⁹

'Tribal' names were often derived from some feature within the territory. Watson said 'an instance of this is the Taraubul group of the Yugarabul tribe, whose territory included the site of the City of Brisbane. This name has been rendered by historians, variously, as Turrbul, Turubul, Turrabul, and Toorbal, the differences in spelling being, no doubt, due to its peculiar pronunciation by the aborigines. The word tarau, which is common to the Yugarabul and the Yugumbir tribes means stones, referring particularly to loose stones, and the name Taraubul is evidently derived from the geological nature of the Brisbane area, the formation of which is almost entirely of brittle schist'.⁵⁰

It is not known just how complete a word-list or grammar of the Turubul language exists. Certainly it does not approach those of other Aboriginal languages⁵¹, but from early days both word-lists and some grammar have been recorded. Eipper gave what he called 'a specimen of their dialect' and some illustrative sentences.⁵² Ridley provided a word-list and some 'dialogues in Dippil', as well as an outline grammar of the 'Turrubul' language, a vocabulary, and paraphrases from the first three chapters of Genesis.⁵³ Edward Curr cited an outline grammar and word-list compiled by Ridley in the *Australian Race*.⁵⁴ Petrie gave a list of place names and a few specimens of Aboriginal vocabulary; many additional words were scattered throughout his *Reminiscences*.⁵⁵ John Dunmore Lang included a short word-list from both the 'Turrubul' and 'Dippil' dialects.⁵⁶ Meston and others from time to time listed words and meanings, but most of these records are in the form of short articles in letters to the editors of various newspapers current between 1860 and 1930. Such notes and letters do not occur these days and the earlier items are too numerous to cite individually in this paper. What is certain, however, is that the Aborigines of Brisbane did possess a comprehensive language and that this had been recognised by earlier compilers.

PLACE NAMES:

Within the defined area covered in this paper, there are places bearing Aboriginal names, some of which are original, or only have had slight modification; some have been transferred from their original area, and some have no association with the locality at all. It is known that there have been in the past, wrong assumptions and misinterpretations of what was said, and that names were often *ad hoc* additions when maps were being drawn. These can help give a wrong picture. A list, reproduced in Appendix I, is compiled from various sources.⁵⁷

SITES IN THE AREA:

The bora was the most important ceremony in Aboriginal life. One such ceremonial ground was located within the area defined in this paper. It was a one-time Government Water Reserve known as Nudgee Water Holes; the water holes, as such have disappeared today. A. Preston reported that 'the ground occupies a position in the Government Water Reserve, a mile back from Nudgee Beach, and a few hundred yards from Child's vineyard. It is situated on a large flat at some height above the Nudgee Beach flats'.⁵⁸ The ground was then surrounded by a dense tea-tree forest and consisted of 'a circular mound, 50ft. in diameter and 18 in. high From the western side a shallow depression or track leads away for nearly 300 yards, crosses the road, and is finally lost in some cultivated land near Sarro, and Fleming's farms'.⁵⁹ He stated that on the western side the ring has been broken, 'whether by the removal of soil or gravel, or excavations such as would remain after burning of logs, is not apparent'.⁶⁰ Residents informed Preston that the smaller ring formerly existed 'in property owned by Mr. Kunde, but this having been at one time cultivated, evidence of its existence has disappeared'.⁶¹ The oldest resident at that time (1895) did not know of any ceremony being held since the 1860's. D.J. Childs recalled that in his youth, boys of fifteen and twenty were taken from their parents and made into men.⁶² It appears also that other ceremonies were held on this ground from time to time.⁶³

Petrie described how different 'tribes' came together to witness a new corroboree which the Ipswich 'tribe' had brought and how he witnessed the usual fight that occurred after such affairs. Upon that occasion some 700 individuals came together and two groups were formed; some northern 'tribes' - the Bribie, Mooloolah, Maroochy, Noosa, Durundur, Kilcoy, and Barambah groups - ranged against the Brisbane, Ipswich, Rosewood, Wivenhoe, Logan, and Stradbroke Island 'tribes'. The Brisbane and Stradbroke Island people, as well as those from the Logan River to the Brisbane had their camp on Green Hills (overlooking Roma Street Station and where the Reception House used to be); the Ipswich, Rosewood, and Wivenhoe

'tribes' were on Petrie Terrace (where the Police Barracks are now), and the northern 'tribes' were situated on the site of the present Normanby Hotel. Prior to the corroboree, a *kippa*-making ceremony had been held at the Samford bora ring and these young men were brought to where the women were dancing and singing on the flat in front of the present-day Roma Street Railway Station. The Brisbane 'tribe' chased the others to Red Hill; they then retreated, and in turn, were chased to Milton on the river bank. There were some casualties on both sides, but a halt was called in the fighting to allow food to be collected. For this purpose the 'tribes' were divided - the Ipswich, Mount Brisbane, and Wivenhoe people hunting in the scrub near to where Toowong Railway Station is now situated (and known to them as Baneraba (var. *Bunaraba*)); the Logan, Stradbroke Island, and Moreton Island Aboriginals going to near West End (known as *Kurilpa* (var. *Kureelpa*)); some northern 'tribes' hunting at the present Enoggera Crossing (*buayuba*) and others at the Hamilton Scrub; the Brisbane 'tribe' kept to the Bowen Hills, Spring Hill, and New Farm areas.⁶⁴ Other big fights have been recorded as having taken place at *Dumben* (now Pinkenba) and York's Hollow.

Charles Phillips, who arrived in Hamilton as a small boy in 1848, recalled his friendly relationships with the Aboriginals, especially the Bribie Island 'tribe' which frequented the Hamilton and Eagle Farm areas and had their camps there. He remembered a battle which took place approximately at what is now the corner of Hamilton and Toorak roads between the Bribie Island and Bunya Bunya peoples, the latter being put to flight. Sometime later, about 200 to 300 natives held a corroboree where Hamilton and Eagle Farm merge; this could well be the corroboree ground that existed on the site of the northern runway of the Eagle Farm airport.⁶⁵ A camp site and corroboree ground was located on the bank of Kedron Brook, near a large Blue Gum (in Queensland) (*Eucalyptus tereticornis*) which is still standing. Residents of the area in 1870 heard sounds of the corroboree from the high grounds to the north.⁶⁶ Harry Perry knew of Aboriginals living at Toowong in the early 1860s and of occasional corroborees being held there.

There was a camp at Hamilton where twenty men, women, and children were living in 1869. Other camps were at Nudgee⁶⁷, the last there being on the Brisbane side of the golf course⁶⁸; at Shorncliffe where huts were located in 1887 on the site of the Sandgate Golf Club⁶⁹; and at Meeandah near the present railway station.⁷⁰ On Cribb Island, temporary camp sites were to be found on the beach, near the mouth of Serpentine Creek and along that creek near the rafting yards.⁷¹ At Enoggera and Alderley, in 1897 the Aboriginals were well known by name to the Trackson family, a member of which recalls the natives walking into Brisbane for blankets distributed each year on the occasion of Queen Victoria's birthday (24 May).⁷² Meston referred to Victoria Park, originally open forest, being a favourite camping ground.⁷³ A large water-hole and swamp at the end of Oriel Road, Clayfield (now Oriel Park and Playground) was one of the last camp sites in the Brisbane area.⁷⁴ Transient camps, usually occupied for some weeks around Easter, of the Bribie Island Aboriginals who came up into Boggy Creek (Myrtle-town) were situated on 'The Reserve'.

FOODS:

The numerous freshwater creeks, waterholes, and ponds; the coastal swamps, the two main rivers - the Brisbane and the South Pine; and the coastline itself provided a plentiful food supply. The forest country and the vine scrub supported a wide diversity of animal and vegetable foods. To this day extensive fern and bullrush swamps exist in the Sandgate area. Kedron Brook (now, in part, Schultz's Canal) up to the arrival of the first tanners, and Enoggera Creek, were well-known fishing spots. Fish could always be caught in the quiet waters where the railway bridge now crosses Breakfast Creek upstream.⁷⁶

Tom Petrie had described the harvesting of the marine 'grub' called *kan-yi*⁷⁷, collected annually by the Aborigines at Breakfast Creek. Logs of the Swamp Oak (*Casuarina glauca*) were piled to a height of 0.8m and to a width of 2m so as to be covered at high water and to be exposed at low water. The 'grubs' were removed by smashing the logs and knocking the pieces together. They were collected in a *pikki*, a container first mentioned by Eipper and made by utilising the curved sheathing base of the fronds of the piccabeen palm (*Archontophoenix* spp.).⁷⁸ The *Xanthorrhoea* species, called *dakkabin*, contained grubs at the base of its dying stems.

Snakes were eaten; Eipper observed that the smaller ones were consumed raw, others being thrown onto hot ashes to be cooked. Goannas (the smaller varieties being called *barra* and the larger *gi-wer*) formed an item of diet. The goanna fat, according to Petrie, was saved up and used for decoration.⁷⁹

Tortoises were called *binkin* (*binkin-ba* being the name for New Farm).⁸⁰ Petrie, as a boy, used to go there with the Aborigines to capture them in the swamp. Tortoises were caught in fresh water holes with nets or by hand in the swamp. They were roasted lying on their backs. When cooked, the carapace served as a dish to contain the juice.

The large, black flying 'squirrel' (*Petaurus australis*) was called *panko* and the small, grey one (*P. nortolcensis*) *chiber*. Petrie referred to the hunting of squirrels near what is now Bowen Terrace, Bowen Hills, Teneriffe, Spring Hill, and Red Hill. He saw the Aborigines get two or three possums out of one large turpentine tree and sometimes a large flying 'squirrel'. Petrie described that as one man climbed a tree, the 'squirrel' would run out of its hole and fly to the base of another tree, climb up it and then fly to the base of the next, but the natives were able to knock them down finally.

Quail (*Coturnix* or *Turnix* sp.) were called *du-wir*. Parties of four or five, working to a plan, flushed the birds into the open where they were knocked down by throwing small waddies. New Farm and Eagle Farm were known as good hunting places for quail; the birds were even observed in April 1976. The scrub turkey (*Alectura lathamii*) or *wargun* was hunted and its nest sought for the eggs. The mounds were located quite easily as they were too large to be concealed from sharp eyes. The Brisbane Aborigines called the black swan (*Cygnus atratus*) *marutchi*. These were chased in canoes and caught in the moulting season when they were unable to fly. The women kept the small feathers for their hair and the men kept the down for decoration. Ducks (*ngau-u*) were frightened into nets placed across lagoons by throwing boomerangs which gave the appearance of hawks. A similar ruse was employed to ensnare parrots (*pillin*) and cockatoos (*kai-yar*).

Kangaroos, wallabies, and other small marsupials were caught in fifty to sixty millimetre mesh nets called *meerboon* about 1.2 metres high. These were suitably located and the prey hunted into them. The animals were encouraged to graze in areas which had been purposely fired to produce green shoots. Kangaroos were called *murri*, the older and the larger male was referred to as *groman*. The skins were used to lie on, but were not sewn together as were possum skins. Flying foxes (*Pteropus* spp.), called *geeramon* or *graman* were knocked down during the day with small waddies. They were cooked by first singeing, and then roasting. March flies (Fam. *Tabanidae*) and paper wasps (Fam. *Vespidae*) and their larvae were utilised as food.

Aboriginals ate raw the heart shoots of the piccabeen palm and the cabbage-tree palm (*Livingstonia australis*). The root of the fern *Blechnum indicum* (called *bangwall* by Eipper), which grew in swamps in great profusion, was eaten. This food was highly esteemed, as Eipper has noted. It was used with flesh or fish, or eaten on its own, somewhat as bread is eaten today. Roots of a fresh water bullrush (*Typha* spp.), called *imboon* by Eipper and *yumbun* by Petrie, was eaten. It resembled arrow-root. The outer skin was removed and the roots chewed raw until only the fibre remained. This was then discarded.⁸¹

The Brisbane people were invited to the Bunya Mountains feasts.⁸² The nuts of the Bunya pine (*Araucaria bidwillii*) ripened in March, but visitors arrived there earlier and stayed about two months. The Brisbane Aboriginals called the tree *bonyee*. Those who camped at Enoggera and Alderley as late as the 1890's were able to enjoy bunya nuts from trees planted on Sedgley Grange, a large estate owned by the Trackson family.

The small, greenish fruit of the persoonia (*geebung*) were obtained in large quantities. The pulp and seed were squeezed into the mouth from the skin which was discarded. The thick stems of the large leaved aroid (*Alocasia macrorrhizos*) were soaked, pounded, and roasted before they were edible. Yams (*Dioscorea transversa*) were dug from a depth of one metre before being roasted. A scrub bean (*Canavalia obtusifolia*) was picked when young and soaked in water before roasting. In all the soaking processes net dillies were used. When corn was first grown in the area the Aboriginals soaked the hard grain to soften it. The large kernels of the Moreton Bay chestnut (*Castanospermum australe*), known as *mai*, were soaked, pounded, and roasted; the white man's bread being called, at first, *mai*. A similar process was used to make the cycad seeds edible. Two kinds of wild figs - that bearing a larger fruit, *ngo-nga* and that with a smaller fruit, *nyuta* - were eaten. The gum from the dogwood (*Jacksonia scoparia*), called *denma* and the ripe drupes from the pandanus (*Pandanus* spp.), known as *winnam* were eaten.

Two species of native bee produced honey. One type, called *kabbai*, was white and the other, *kuta*, was dark and sour. The Bowen Hills area and the Toowong area were noted for their good honey. Much later, honey was brought up into Boggy Creek (Myrtletown) by Bribie Island Aboriginals, who traded it for meat.

GAMES:

Tom Petrie has left quite a detailed description of the everyday life of the Aboriginals in the Brisbane area. He has shown that the people did have time for games, particularly when young.⁸³ Petrie himself, as a boy, often joined in with them. On the road to and from camp, they frequently played *murru murru*. The men and boys picked sides, each participant having a specially-made small waddy which was hit on the ground, making it bounce. The object of the game was to see who could make it bounce the furthest. *Purru purru* was played with a ball made of kangaroo skin stuffed with grass. The women were able to take part in this game. When sides had been chosen, the ball was thrown up in the air and caught: each side tried to keep it themselves, or to catch it from the other side. *Murri murri* was played mainly by the boys, but the men occasionally joined in. The players stood in two lines eight to nine metres apart in a clear space, each holding a couple of small sharp spears. In that space a man held a circular piece of bark about 457mm in diameter. The game began when this piece of bark was bowled along like a hoop between the two lines. Each player threw their spears at it as it passed. The idea was to see who was best at hitting it. *Murri* was the word for kangaroo, thus the game was really playing at spearing kangaroos.

There were toy boomerangs similar to the normal type. Another item, made from a special piece of bark, about 177 X 38mm and rounded at each end, was put into hot ashes and whilst hot, bent almost into a semi-circle and kept in this shape until it got cold again. These were thrown with the first finger and thumb; they circled and returned like a boomerang. A similar game used two lengths of wood about 460mm in length, tied crosswise in the middle. It was thrown by holding one end of the cross. The object was to see who was best at getting a return flight.

Skipping with a vine, with almost the same ploys as used by white children, was enjoyed equally by the adults, some of whom were noted for their skipping ability. *Warru warru*, known to Europeans as "cat's cradle" was commonly played with all sorts of imaginative representations of animals, or almost anything coming out from the manipulated string. As there was sufficient water available in the area, different water games were played. Just jumping in repeatedly produced great enjoyment, or a game like *marutchi*, 'black swan' might be played. In this, one man, the 'swan', would swim some thirty metres from the bank; he would then be chased by some of the spectators whom he would try to elude by diving. He would be followed and if caught, would be tapped lightly on the head and so 'killed', then he would be taken ashore. Frequently, the 'swan' would imitate the bird's call and flap his arms in imitation of its wings; these antics caused so much mirth among the 'hunters' that the 'swan' escaped. A similar game of 'turtle' hunting was played, but on this occasion clear water and a sandy bottom was needed and a canoe was used. The 'turtle' would surface, then dive, and dodge away. The 'hunter' had to dive on top of him and hold him, whilst another would jump in and help bring him to the surface. The 'turtle' would then be lifted into the canoe and brought to the bank.

There were imitations of all sorts of things - men fighting or hunting; hunted animals or birds; and sham fights, called *tambil tambil*, where spears with blunt ends were chewed to form 'brushes' and shields made of bark were used. There were infrequent accidents as instanced by Petrie when, as a boy, he was struck below the left eye by a sharp-ended spear in such a sham fight; although the wound healed, the Aboriginal boy, realizing what he had done, ran away and did not return for two years. Mud fights frequently took place. The mud was rolled into balls and two men took them and threw them at each other, while dancing with their bodies half-stooped. The first man in the dance turned and held out his cheek for a mud ball; on receiving it, he threw one back and then held out the other cheek. This continued until both were smothered all over with mud. The players kept grave faces, but the onlookers were convulsed with laughter.

Whilst games were being played and enjoyed, much of the effort was training for later life, when the lessons learnt would be applied to hunting or the arts of war.

WEAPONS AND UTILITIES:

Petrie has again provided a description of weapons used in this area.⁸⁴ Spears were of several types. One, *kannai*, was made from saplings, two or three metres in length which were scraped clean with a shell, fire-hardened, and blackened; a section, however, near the tip was scraped clean again. This spear was used both for fighting and hunting. Sometimes, three or four wooden prongs about 177mm long, were attached to an unpointed shaft, thus making it a fishing spear. Another spear called *pi-lar* was split from an iron bark tree (*Eucalyptus siderophloia*), trimmed, and scraped to size. This spear, about 3m long, was left all black and was intended to be used at close quarters. It was tipped with a stingray barb, or the point was cut almost through so that it would break off in a victim. Spears were heated and straightened by bending over the head. The Brisbane people used and prized rosewood spears (*Dysoxylum fraserianum*) traded from members of the Ipswich 'tribes'. No woomeras were used within the Brisbane area.

Waddies of several kinds were made of scrub sapplings or the harder ironbark and were all blackened. The *tabri* was about half a metre long, pointed at both ends, although notched for holding at one end. The *mur* was used only for fighting and was shaped with a large knob which was sometimes carved and decorated with clay and ochre. There was also the fearsome *bakkon* (var. *buccon*) made from a suitable tree, but carved flat with one downward point.

Yam sticks or *kalgur* were used by the women for fighting as well as digging. They were 2m long, shaped at one end and tapered flat at the other.

Shields of two varieties, both of which were called *kuntan*, were made from cork wood (*Erythrina vespertilio*). One was thicker than the other and was used in close combat to withstand heavy blows from waddies. The lighter and broader shield was used against spear attacks. The handles were burnt out with coals, scraped smooth, and made large enough for three fingers. Boomerangs were also used and were usually cut from natural bends of trees, from the trunk to the root. After some shaping by tools they were bent or straightened over a fire and subsequently applied pressure. The lighter spear shield was decorated. Stone hatchets or *waggar* were made from hard stone shaped with another rock and the edge ground on sandstone. It was then hafted with a strong vine handle and fastened with beeswax and string. Hatchets were also used without handles. Knives were made from suitably shaped and sized flakes and bound with possum fur and wax for handles.

Containers, called *pikki*, were made from the curved bark which was carefully removed from natural burls appearing on some eucalypts. The same timber as used for the shields and the wood from the stinging tree (*Dendrocnide* sp.) was utilized for the same purpose and hollowed out by fire. Tea-tree bark and sheaths from the piccabeen palm were also used.

Dillies (*dilli*) were made from rushes, a coarse grass plant *Lomandra longifolia*, the bark of the stinging tree (called *braggain*), the vine *Malaisia tortuosa* (referred to as *manam*), and the inner bark of the *Hibiscus tilaceus* (*talwalpin*).

Dillies were of all sizes and carried everything, including the bones of deceased relatives. Every man had a small dilly under the left arm. This could contain such items as white clay, red ochre, a honey rag, a lump of fat, and a hair comb (a small bone sharpened at one end). A *kundri* or magic crystal could also be found in the dilly of an important man.

Canoes, called *goondool* or *coondoo*, ranged in size from one suitable for one man up to those for nine or ten men, measuring about 6m in length. The canoes were of bark obtained from the swamp mahogany (*Tristania suaveolens*) or *buluruchu* and *jeelgann*, the stringy bark (*Eucalyptus* spp.). Canoes carried a bailer shell and often a smouldering stick resting on clay; they were propelled by long poles, one or more depending on size. If no canoe was available, dry sticks were bound together with quickly-made string and covered with tea-tree bark and was pushed along by swimmers with small children and belongings placed on top.

Possums skins were sewn together with kangaroo tail sinews, a common string for tying up bark for the dead, or repairing huts was made quickly from the inner bark of *kagarkal*, a wattle tree (*Acacia* sp.). Human hair and possum fur was used and rolled on the thigh to make string. 'Big' men wore belts of human hair string.

DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD:

The earliest reference to the disposal of the dead by the Aborigines in the Brisbane area was made by Charles Fraser, the Colonial Botanist. Meston reported that Fraser found a native cemetery 'represented by hollow logs filled with the bones of blacks of all sizes' at the mouth of Breakfast Creek. In a gathering of some 800 warriors, twenty combatants were wounded, one being killed. Petrie knew this man and went to the Bowen Hills camp to see him. He learnt on arrival from some old women that others had gone across the creek to eat the body. When Petrie rode onto the Enoggera Crossing the proceedings were finished and there were only some old women cleaning the bones preparatory to placing them in a dilly.

Milbung Jimmy (*yilbung*, one-eye'), a notorious thief and suspected murderer, had many brushes with the law, but after a reward had been offered he was captured and died shortly afterwards from wounds received. It was reported that the skull was acquired for medical purposes soon afterwards.⁸⁶ Dumdalli, another murderer, was hanged at the windmill; his brother, Ommuli, also captured in Brisbane, was choked to death whilst being dragged to gaol.

Petrie, as a boy, was looking for straying cattle at York's Hollow, then a favourite fighting place, when he encountered a camp in which an old woman was crying because her son (*narring*) had been killed. She had her son's skin, including the hair of the head and beard and the fingers, wrapped in a possum skin cover in her dilly bag. Petrie's father tried to buy it from her, but she would not part with it. Several weeks later the woman's husband arrived with a new, small dilly containing four pieces of his son's skin - two from the front and two from the back. The scars could be seen on these pieces which were almost as thick as a bullock's hide. The Aboriginal named Yabba took pride in giving them to Tom Petrie and after honouring him, called him his son and all the 'tribe' looked upon the boy as such, considering him from that time on to be a great man or *turrwan*. It soon became known from 'tribe' to 'tribe' that he had been granted this gift by the well-respected Yabba and henceforth, he was welcomed by all, the tribal secrets being told to him and a welcome extended him everywhere.⁸⁷

Female relatives of a deceased person would sometimes give portions of the skin to friends in other 'tribes'; they, in turn, would lament in their own camps, but would be content that their men-folk would not be suspected in relation to the death of that person.

Bodies of children were never flayed, but were placed up in trees. If they were in fat condition, then they would be eaten. Young children or infants would be roasted whole and consumed usually by the women. In some instances, if a mother died in childbirth, the child would be blamed and would be killed and then eaten by the old women. Cripples, the deformed, and the aged were treated kindly and cared for. When cripples died, their bodies were put in hollow logs. Camps were shifted immediately after a death and the trees around marked where the deceased had died, or had been eaten.⁸⁸

A large tea-tree which stood in what today is an industrial area between Roman Street and Schneider Road, Eagle Farm, contained a bark bundle in which was said to be the remains of an Aboriginal child. This would have been seen just before the turn of this century and the bundle had been there for many years.⁸⁹

Probably one of the last native burials took place at Shorncliffe when 'King' Johnny died in 1892. His body was taken across Cabbage Tree Creek and buried at Dinah's Island, an islet near the mouth of the creek.⁹⁰

CONCLUSION:

The original people of Brisbane have gone from their land, now occupied by a fast-growing city and its environs. They have left little of their culture behind and much of what did remain, has been destroyed. Too little is recorded of those days, the people themselves, and their way of life. What still does remain, and what is possible to be learnt of them, must be collected, collated, and carefully preserved.

APPENDIX

Present Name	Aboriginal Name	Meaning	Source
Ashgrove	<i>kallindarbin</i>		Petrie, p.318
Bald Hills	<i>wyampa</i>		Gamble
Banyo	<i>banyo</i>	A ridge	Watson, 1;105
Boggy Creek, Eagle Farm	<i>tumkaiburn</i>		Petrie
Boondall	<i>boondall</i>	Cumjevoi (<i>Alocasia macrorrhizos</i>)	Watson, p.105
Booroodabin	<i>burundabin</i>	Place of oaks	Petrie, p.319
Bowen Hills	<i>barrambin</i>		Petrie, p.118, 143, 318
Breakfast Creek	<i>ya-wa-gara</i>		Petrie, p.168, 317
Breakfast Creek (near Railway Bridge)	<i>barrambin</i>		Petrie, p.88
Breakfast Creek (at the mouth)	<i>yaw-eggara (yooggera)</i>		Meston
Breakfast Creek Point	<i>garran-bimbilla</i>		Meston
Brisbane (city site)	<i>mia-njin</i>	<i>migan</i> 'spike' and <i>chagan</i> 'place'; or, place shaped like a spike	Watson, p.102
Doomben	<i>mi-an jin (me-an-jin)</i>		Petrie, p.319
Enoggera (corrupt)	<i>dum-ben</i>	Species of tree fern	Watson, p.106
Enoggera (present day)	<i>yawarr-ngari</i>	Sing, play, or song and dance. Referring to a corroboree ground	Watson, p.705
Enoggera Crossing (near saleyards)	<i>booloorehambian</i>	Turpentine-tree (<i>Sinacarpia procera</i>)	Meston
Exhibition Ground and area of the Royal Brisbane Hospital	<i>bu-yu-ba</i>	Leg, shin	Petrie, p.162
Geebung	<i>walan (woolan)</i>	Bream	Petrie, p.318
	<i>geebung</i>	(An Aboriginal word but not of this area. Meaning is the fruit of the Persoonia (<i>persoonia</i>) tree. <i>dulendella</i> was used here)	Watson

Hamilton	<i>yerrool</i>		Meston
Hamilton (a long sandy stretch in front of)	<i>mooroo-mooroolbin</i>	Long nose (<i>mooroo</i> 'nose', <i>mooroolbin</i> 'long')	Meston
Hill (Garrick's House, Bowen Bridge Road)	<i>gilbumpa (gilboompa)</i>		Petrie, p. 318
Indooroopilly	<i>nyindur - pil-ly</i>	Gully of leaches (<i>nyindur</i> 'leach', <i>pil-ly</i> 'gully')	Watson, p. 105
Indooroopilly (site of railway bridge)	<i>yinduru-pilli</i>		Petrie, p. 318
Indooroopilly (bend in river below Indooroopilly bridge)	<i>mirbarpa</i>		Petrie, p. 318
Meeandah (spike of land below Hamilton)	<i>tu-wong</i>	Black goat-sucker	Petrie, p. 318
Mount Coot-tha	<i>kuta</i>	(Probably similar to <i>mia-njin</i>)	Watson, p. 105
New Farm	<i>binikin-ba</i>	Dark native honey	Petrie, p. 78, 318
Newstead	<i>karakaran-pinbilli</i>	Place of land tortoise	Petrie, p. 82, 318
Nudgee	<i>margin-margin</i>		Petrie, p. 318
	<i>nar-dha (corrupt)</i>	Place of black ducks (<i>Anas superciliosa</i>)	Petrie, p. 319
Nundah	<i>nanda (nunda)</i>		Watson
Nundah (racecourse)	from <i>nyanda</i>	Chain of water holes	Petrie, p. 106, 318
Nundah (site of Zion's Hill Mission)	<i>gilwumpa</i>	Waterholes or lagoons	Watson
Observatory	<i>tumbul</i>		Petrie, p. 319
One Tree Hill	<i>wilwumpa</i>		Petrie, p. 319
	<i>gootch</i>	One of the names for honey	Petrie, p. 318
	<i>mappee</i>	(A word for 'posterior' referring to the end of the range)	Meston
Petrie's Bight	<i>tumaman</i>		Meston
Pinkenba	<i>dumben (doomben)</i>		Petrie, p. 318
	<i>pinken-ba</i>	Place of tortoises	Petrie, p. 82, 318
			Watson, p. 105

Sandgate	<i>warra</i>	Open sheet of water or river	Petrie, p.319
	<i>moora or warra</i>		Meston
Spring Hill	<i>woomooonygoroo</i>		Meston
Taringa		Place of stones (<i>tarau</i> 'stones' <i>nga</i> 'composition')	Watson, p.105
Toowong	<i>gootcha</i>	One of the names for honey	Meston
	<i>tu-wong</i>	Call of the koel cuckoo (<i>Eudynamis scolopacea</i>)	Watson, p. 105
Toowong (near railway station)	<i>baneraba (banaraba)</i>		Petrie, p.162, 169, 318
Toowong (site of Regatta Hotel)	<i>jo-ai-jo-ai</i>		Petrie, p.318
Wooloowin	<i>kulwin</i>		Petrie, p. 318
	<i>kulu-win</i>	Species of pigeon	Watson, p.105

ENDNOTES

1. John Uniacke, 'Narrative of Thomas Pamphlet, Aged Thirty-four Years, who was with Two Other Men wrecked on the Coast of New Holland in April 1823, and Lived among the Natives for Seven Months', in Barron Field (ed.), *Geographical Memoirs of New South Wales... together with Other Papers on the Aborigines, the Geology, the Botany, the Timber, the Astronomy, and the Meteorology of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land* (London, 1825), pp. 87-129 (reprinted, in part, in John G. Steele, *The Explorers of the Moreton Bay District 1770-1830* (Brisbane, 1972), pp. 69-72. An account by John Finnegan of a fight among the Moreton Bay Aborigines and a similar account by Thomas Pamphlet may be found in John Uniacke, 'Narrative of Mr. Oxley's Expedition to Survey Port Curtis and Moreton Bay, with a View to Form Convict Establishments There, in Pursuance of the Recommendation of the Commissioner of Inquiry', in Field (ed.), *Geographical Memoirs of New South Wales*, pp. 67-86.
2. Owen Gorman, born Cloghan, Ireland 1799, promoted to Lieutenant, 80th Leicestershire Regiment 1853, Commandant, Moreton Bay Penal Settlement July 1839-May 1842, applied for a position of Commissioner of Crown Lands or Police Magistrate at Moreton Bay 1840, Superintendent of Ironed Gangs, Tourang Stockade, N.S.W. 1843; retired from the army 1847. Refer Commandant, Moreton Bay to Colonial Secretary, 31 October 1840 (New South Wales Archives Office 4/3093, in-letter 12656 of 1840, John Oxley Library microfilm reel A2.11, frames 345-6) and John G. Steele, *Brisbane Town in Convict Days 1824-1842* (Brisbane, 1975), p.263.
3. Commandant, Moreton Bay to Colonial Secretary, 30 March 1840 (N.S.W.A.O. 4/3092, in-letter 8437 of 1840, J.O.L. microfilm reel A2.11, frames 143-4).
4. The Mission to the Aborigines at Moreton Bay was projected and undertaken in 1837 at the instance of John Dunmore Lang under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church of New South Wales. The first party of missionaries, comprising eleven men (two of whom were clergymen, Karl Wilhelm Schmidt and Christopher Eipper), eight women, and eleven children, arrived in Moreton Bay from Sydney on the Government schooner *Isabella* 30 March 1838. Major Sydney Cotton allocated 259 ha., six kilometres from Brisbane to the mission. The settlement was called Zion's Hill, named perhaps in imitation of Count Zinzendorf's Herrnhut. The area was known familiarly as 'German Station', now the present suburb of Nundah. In 1840 Lieutenant Gorman questioned the mission's success with the Aborigines. Refer Christopher Eipper, *Statement of the Origin, Condition, and Prospects of the German Mission to the Aborigines at Moreton Bay, Conducted under the Auspices of the Presbyterian Church in New South Wales* (Sydney, 1841) (reprinted in Steele, *Brisbane Town in Convict Days*, pp. 281-94), H.J.J. Sparks, *Queensland's First Free Settlement 1838-1938* (Brisbane, 1938), Commandant, Moreton Bay to Colonial Secretary, 8 February 1840 (N.S.W.A.O. 4/3092, in-letter 2553 of 1840, J.O.L. microfilm reel A2.11, frames 138-42), Commandant, Moreton Bay to Colonial Secretary, 30 March 1840 (N.S.W.A.O. 4/3092, in-letter 8437 of 1840, J.O.L. microfilm reel A2.11, frames 143-4).
5. Eipper, *Statement*, p.4.

6. The use of the term 'tribe' denoting a unit of traditional Aboriginal society has been the subject of controversy and research by anthropologists (refer Nicolas Peterson (ed.), *Tribes and Boundaries in Australia*, Social Anthropology Series, No. 10 (Canberra, 1976), pp.1-11 (Introduction)). Peterson says 'the term tribe and tribal labels are to be found in the writings of most Australianists, indicating the usefulness of tribe as a rough conceptual shorthand'. (Peterson, *Tribes and Boundaries*, p.1). In this paper the term tribe has, therefore, been enclosed in quotation marks. The form of name for each 'tribe' is the preferred rendering given by Norman Tindale in *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia: Their Terrain, Environmental Controls, Distribution, Limits, and Proper Names. With an appendix on Tasmanian Tribes* by Rhys Jones (Canberra, 1974).
7. Eipper, *Statement*, p. 5.
8. As for endnote 7.
9. Eipper, *Statement*, p. 6.
10. Eipper, *Statement*, p. 6. For a description of *bangwall*, refer F.S. Colliver & F.P. Woolston, 'The Aborigines of Stradbroke Island', *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Queensland*, vol. 86 (1975), pp.96-7.
11. As for endnote 3. Filed with this letter is Karl Wilhelm Schmidt to Commandant, Moreton Bay, 25 March 1840 (J.O.L. microfilm reel A2.11, frames 145-8). Reprinted in Sparks, *Queensland's First Free Settlement*, pp.24-5 and Steele, *Brisbane Town in Convict Days*, p. 268. The letter from Schmidt to Gorman is reprinted in Steele, *Brisbane Town in Convict Days*, pp.267-8.
12. Eipper, *Statement*, pp.8-9 and Constance Campbell Petrie, *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences of Early Queensland (Dating from 1837)* (Brisbane, 1932), pp.42-3 - hereafter cited as *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences*.
13. Eipper, *Statement*, p.9.
14. Eipper, *Statement*, p.10. For later views on the treatment of Aboriginal women, refer Raymond Evans, Kay Saunders (and) Kathryn Cronin, *Exclusion, Exploitation and Extermination: Race Relations in Colonial Queensland* (Sydney, 1975), pp.103-17 (Chapter 7: Harlots and Helots).
15. F.J. Watson, *Vocabularies of Four Representative Tribes of South Eastern Queensland with Grammatical Notes Thereof and Some Notes on Manners and Customs. Also, A List of Aboriginal Place Names and Their Derivation*, Supplement to the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (Queensland), vol. XLVIII, no. 34 (Brisbane, 1944?), pp.66-77.
16. Eipper, *Statement*, p.10.
17. William Ridley, *Kamilaroi, and Other Australian Languages*, 2nd. edn., rev. and enl., with Comparative Tables of Words from Twenty Australian Languages and Songs, Traditions, Laws and Customs of the Australian Race (Sydney, 1875), p.vi (Prefatory Note). This work was first published as *Kamilaroi, Dippil, and Turrubul: Languages Spoken by Australian Aborigines* (Sydney, 1866).
18. Archibald Meston, 'Aboriginal Names', *Bulletin*, 18 April 1896, p.27.
19. Eipper, *Statement*, p.5.

20. Watson, *Vocabularies of Four Representative Tribes*, p. 72. The diacritical marks used by Watson have been omitted in this paper.
21. John Williams Zillman, *Recollections of My Early Life* (Broweena, Qld. (n.d.)). p.5.
22. As for endnote 21. A similar account is to be found in Edgar Foreman, 'Black's at Cash's Crossing: Incident of the Early Days: Two Brave Women Beat off Attack' (undated newspaper cutting in the Jack Cutting Book, No. 3, p.68 (John Oxley Library)). Foreman gives the spelling 'Cashe'.
23. Personal communication by E.E. Hooper to F.P. Woolston, March 1976 and Eipper, *Statement*, pp. 13-14.
24. As for endnote 23.
25. Personal communication by T. Jackson to F.P. Woolston, March 1976.
26. C.F.O. Lentz, *Memoirs and Some History*, p.3. (John Oxley Library).
27. *Sandgate Times*, 29 May 1931.
28. Tindale, *Aboriginal Tribes*, p. 169.
29. Tindale, *Aboriginal Tribes*, p. 186.
30. Archibald Meston, 'Moreton Bay and Islands', *Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science Handbook of Excursions* (Brisbane, 1895), p.21. Tindale (*Aboriginal Tribes*, p.186) gives Bo-oobera, as an alternative name for Udanbi. Meston gives the spelling 'Bo-obbera', which is retained here.
31. Meston, 'Moreton Bay and Islands', p.21. Tindale (*Aboriginal Tribes*, p. 169) gives Yuggara as an alternative name for Jagarà.
32. Meston, 'Moreton Bay and Islands', p.21.
33. Richard Westaway, 'A Portion of the Country between Brisbane and Gympie', in Edward M. Curr, *The Australian Race: Its Origin, Languages, Customs, Place of Landing in Australia, and the Routes by Which It Spread Itself over That Continent* (Melbourne, 1887), vol. III, p.138. This reference is cited in Tindale, *Aboriginal Tribes*, p. 186.
34. *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences*, p.117.
35. Archibald Meston, 'Lost Tribes of Moreton Bay: Aboriginal Place Names', *Brisbane Courier*, 25 August 1923, p.19, cols. 8-9. These names are not recorded by Tindale in *Aboriginal Tribes*.
36. Archibald Meston, 'Old Moreton Bay Tribes, Their Languages', *Brisbane Courier*, 20 April 1923, p.18.
37. As for endnote 36.
38. As for endnote 36.
39. *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences*, p. 194.

40. Tindale (*Aboriginal Tribes*, p.169) gives Turrbal, Turrubul, Turrubal, Terabul, Torbul, and Turibul as variants. Watson (*Vocabularies of Four Representative Tribes*, p.5) lists Turrbul, Turubul, Turrabul, and Toorbal as variants.
41. Tindale (*Aboriginal Tribes*, p.186) states that Tom Petrie was said to have spoken chiefly Udanbi. Ridley (*Kamilaroi, and Other Australian Languages*, p. (63)) said that Dippil was spoken by the Aboriginals on the north side of Moreton Bay and thence towards Wide Bay and the Burnett District.
42. Tindale, *Aboriginal Tribes*, p. 125.
43. R.B. Matthews, 'Divisions of Queensland Aborigines', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. XXXVII (1898), pp.328-31. Cited in Tindale, *Aboriginal Tribes*, p. 125.
44. The word 'horde', which derives from the Turki *orda* or the Mongolian *hordos*, was used first by Alfred Radcliffe-Brown in 1929 to define a local group in Australia. For use of the term, refer Tindale, *Aboriginal Tribes*, pp. 16-17.
45. As for endnote 42.
46. As for endnote 42.
47. As for endnote 35.
48. Archibald Meston, 'Lost Tribes of Moreton Bay', *Brisbane Courier*, 14 July 1923, p.18, col.1.
49. Watson (*Vocabularies of Four Representative Tribes*, p. 4) says: 'the names of these tribes (i.e. Kabi, Yugumbir, Yugarabul, and Wakka), which were identical with the names of their individual languages, were derived from the negative word of each language, the words kabi, wakka, yugar and yugum each having the meaning of no, nothing, nowhere, etc. No definite reason has been assigned for so naming these languages. Possibly it was because the tribes had a common affirmative, i.e. yauai, and distinct negatives'.
50. Watson, *Vocabularies of Four Representative Tribes*, p.5.
51. T.G.H. Strehlow, for example, records some 76 000 words for the Aranda language. (Personal communication by W.H. Douglas, a language associate of T.G.H. Strehlow, to F.S. Colliver, May 1976).
52. Elpper, *Statement*, pp.10-12
53. Ridley, *Kamilaroi, and Other Australian Languages*, pp. (61)-(101).
54. William Ridley, 'Brisbane River Turrubul Language', in Curr, *Australian Race*, vol. III, pp.212-15
55. *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences*, pp. (317)-23.

56. John Dunmore Lang, *Queensland, Australia; A Highly Eligible Field for Emigration, and the Future Cotton-Field of Great Britain: With a Disquisition on the Origin, Manners, and Customs of the Aborigines* (London, 1864), pp. 384-5.
57. This list is compiled from *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences*, Watson, *Vocabularies of Four Representative Tribes*, and Meston, 'Lost Tribes of Moreton Bay: Aboriginal Place Names'. The information on Bald Hills was provided by D. Gamble in a personal communication to F.P. Woolston, March 1976.
58. A.T.O. Preston, 'Aboriginal Initiation Rites: (A Paper presented to the Natural History Society)', *Queenslander*, 19 October 1895, p.759, cols. 3-4.
59. As for endnote 58.
60. As for endnote 58.
61. As for endnote 58.
62. D.J. Childs to J. Davidson, 29 September 1913 (Aboriginal Bora Rings (File), Welsby Library, Royal Historical Society of Queensland).
63. Personal communications by E.E. Hooper to F.P. Woolston, March 1976.
64. *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences*, pp. 160-3.
65. 'Hamilton and Ascot', *Brisbane Courier*, 27 September 1930, p.21, cols. 6-7. The information about the corroboree ground at the airport was contained in a personal communication by D.M. Lihou to F.P. Woolston, March 1976.
66. Personal communication by R. Gleadhill to F.P. Woolston, March 1976.
67. (Evidence of) James Sands, Mounted Constable, Police Force, 17 March 1869 (Queensland State Archives JUS/N23, file A69: Carl Windermote).
68. Personal communication by F. Wagner to F.P. Woolston, April 1976.
69. Personal communication by Miss C.H. Lihou to F.P. Woolston, March 1976.
70. Personal communication by Mrs. D.M. Lihou to F.P. Woolston, March 1976.
71. Personal communication by T. Jackson to F.P. Woolston, April 1976.
72. Personal communication by W.T. Gibb to F.P. Woolston, March 1976.
73. Archibald Meston, 'Old Moreton Bay: Lost Languages', *Brisbane Courier*, 1 December 1923, p.19, cols. 8-9.
74. Personal communication by D. Gamble to F.P. Woolston, March 1976.
75. As for endnote 70.
76. For a detailed description of the foods of the Brisbane Aborigines, refer *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences*, pp. 75-96.
77. Petrie calls it a 'marine grub'; it is actually a bivalve mollusc commonly called Shipworm or Cobra. It belongs to the Family *Teredinidae*.

78. Eipper, *Statement*, p.6. Refer also *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences*, pp. 80-1.
79. *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences*, p. 318. What is now Pinkenba was called *Dumben*.
80. As for endnote 79.
81. Eipper, *Statement*, p. 6. Refer also *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences*, p.92.
82. Archibald Meston, 'The Bunya Feast; Mobilan's Former Glory', *Brisbane Courier*, 6 October 1923, p.18, cols. 1-2.
83. For amplification of details of Aboriginal games, refer *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences*, pp 109-14 (Chapter XIV).
84. For further details of weapons and utilities, refer *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences*, pp. 97-108 (Chapter XIII).
85. Archibald Meston, 'Black Man to White Settlement in Jungle Times', *Daily Mail*, 1 December 1923, p.9 and *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences*, p.164.
86. A version of this story appeared in the *Australian*, 5 June 1973, p.6.
87. *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences*, p. 35.
88. *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences*, p. 36.
89. As for endnote 71.
90. As for endnote 70.